

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1495

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2, JUNE 4, 1997
TAGS: PFOR, PINR, CY
SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: JUNE 3 MEETING

SUMMARY: PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN MET FOR 4 HOURS JUNE 3.
ACCORDING TO DE CUELLAR IT WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT
MEETING HELD SO FAR. NEGOTIATORS, ESPECIALLY ONAN, WERE
ARGUMENTATIVE AND SCARCELY BOTHERED TO BE POLITE. DE CUELLAR
SAYS THAT IN FACT IT TOOK EVERY SKILL HE POSSESSED TO KEEP
NEGOTIATORS FROM BREAKING OFF ENTIRELY. ONAN INSISTED
ON STARTING WITH CONSTITUTION. PAPADOPOULOS REFUSED,
INSISTING ON TERRITORY AND, LATER IN THE ARGUMENT, DEMANDED
A FIRM DATE FOR MMETING FOLLOWING UNFICYP RENEWAL DEBATE.
IN THE END, BOTH BACKED OFF SLIGHTLY. ONAN DISCUSSED
TERRITORY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY AND DID NOT FURTHER PRESS
CONSTITUTION. PAPADOPOULOS ACCEPTED A NEBULOUS
FORMULATION ON DATE FOR NEXT MEETING. BOTH GAVE
SHAKY ASSURANCES THEY WOULD AVOID CONTROVERSIAL
PUBLICITY. END SUMMARY

1. DE CUELLAR AND GORGE BRIEFED US ON JUNE 3 MEETING. SUMMARY
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ABOVE IS DE CUELLAR'S OVERVIEW. GORGE GAVE DETAILS BELOW.

2. MEETING BEGAN AT 4:00 P.. LOCAL. BOTH NEGOTIATORS
WERE ACCOMPANIED BY ADVISORS. ONAN BEGAN MEETING WITH
STATEMENT ON CONSTITUTION. PAPADOPOULOS INSISTED ON
TERRITORY FIRST. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, ONAN AGREED AND BEGAN
AN ATTACK ON GREEK CYPRIOT 20 PERCENT MAP. HE STRONGLY IMPLIED

THAT LITTLE OR NO TERRITORY IN THE MORPHOU AREA COULD BE GIVEN TO GREEK CYPRIOTS. HE EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC VIABILITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY. USING THIS AS A BASIS HE MADE WHAT AMOUNTS TO A NEW TURKISH CYPRIOT PRECONDITION WHEN HE SAID THAT THERE CAN BE NO UNIFICATION OR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES AS LONG AS AN "ECONOMIC GAP EXISTS." ECONOMIES OF TWO COMMUNITIES, HE SAID, WOULD HAVE TO BE SEPARATE. HE CONTINUED IN THIS VEIN AT LENGTH.

3. PAPADOPOULOS REPLIED "PROMPTLY AND WITH CLARITY" THAT THE REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC VIABILITY IN THE MAKARIOS-DENKTASH GUIDELINES REFERS TO THE ISLAND AS A WHOLE. THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH RESOURCES ON THE ISLAND TO SUPPORT SELF-SUFFICIENCY FOR TWO SEPARATE COMMUNITIES. PAPADOPOULOS THEN SAID THAT ALL THIS DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC FACTORS WAS ACADEMIC--THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS MUST STATE THEIR TERRITORIAL REQUIREMENTS, ONLY THEN COULD ECONOMIC VIABILITY BE ADDRESSED IN A MEANINGFUL CONTEXT.

4. ONAN'S ANSWER TO THIS WAS TO CHANGE SUBJECT ABRUPTLY TO CONSTITUTION. PAPADOPOULOS OBJECTED; HE UNDERSTOOD THE ENTIRE MEETING SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO TERRITORY. ONAN SAID TURK CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN TOLD THAT BOTH MAJOR ISSUES WOULD BE DISCUSSED. A LONG "WRANGLE" ON THIS POINT LED TO A BREAK IN THE MEETING WITH THE NEGOTIATORS SEATED ON SOFAS ABOUT 10 METERS APART AND DE CUELLAR AND GORGE SHUTTLEING BETWEEN THEM. ONAN KEPT INSISTING ON DISCUSSING CONSTITUTION. PAPADOPOULOS SAID HE WOULD AGREE BUT SINCE HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO RESPOND ON CONSTITUTION HE INSISTED THAT DATE FOR NEXT MEETING MUST BE FIXED BEFORE DISCUSSION RESUMED. ONAN COULD NOT AGREE TO THIS.

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5. AT THIS POINT GORGE TRIED TO PERSUADE ONAN TO CALL DENKTASH ON THE TELEPHONE OR TO GO TO DENKTASH'S RESIDENCE TO GET INSTRUCTIONS ON THE DATE FOR NEXT MEETING. ONAN OBSTINATELY REFUSED. DE CUELLAR SAVED THE SITUATION WHEN HE VOLUNTEERED THAT HE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MISUNDERSTANDINGS ON SUBSTANCE AND DATE. ATMOSPHERE IMPROVED AND NEGOTIATORS RETURNED TO THE TABLE.

6. IN THE RESUMED SESSION, ONAN MADE A REPLY TO THE EARLIER PAPADOPOULOS POINTS ON TERRITORY BUT THERE WERE NO NEW POINTS MADE BY EITHER SIDE. THE MEETING THEN CAME TO A DESULTORY CLOSE.

7. BEFORE LEAVING DE CUELLAR OBTAINED AGREEMENT OF BOTH SIDES TO AVOID "CONTROVERSIAL PUBLICITY." NEGOTIATORS ALSO CONCURRED IN STATEMENT MADE BY UNFICYP TO PRESS ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: IT WAS AGREED THAT THE NEXT MEETING WILL BE HELD AFTER AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR'S RETURN FROM U.N. HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK. WITH CONCURRENCE OF BOTH NEGOTIATORS, HE WILL FIX A DATE IN JUNE FOR THE MEETING.

8. JUNE 4 GREEK CYPRIOT PRESS CARRIES EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF MEETING CLEARLY BASED ON BRIEFING BY PAPADOPOULOS. STORIES EMPHASIZE LACK OF PROGRESS; TURK CYPRIOT INSISTANCE ON "SEPARATE ECONOMIES"; AND FACT THAT "CONTRARY TO THEIR COMMITMENT" TURK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR DID NOT SUBMIT CONCRETE TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND MAP. (COMMENT: PAPADOPOULOS BRIEFING OF PRESS VIOLATED UNDERSTANDING REGARDING AVOIDANCE OF CONTROVERSIAL PUBLICITY. HE ALSO MISREPRESENTED IN SPEAKING OF A TURKISH COMMITMENT TO PRESENT CONCRETE TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND A MAP. END COMMENT) TURK CYPRIOT PRESS CARRIED STRAIGHT REPORTS THAT MEETING WAS HELD WITH NO DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE.

9. COMMENT: FACT THAT MEETING SO NEARLY FELL APART SEEMS TO US DUE TO (A) APPARENT LACK OF CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BEFORE MEETING BETWEEN DE CUELLAR AND NEGOTIATORS AS TO HOW COMMITMENT TO GIVE EQUAL WEIGHT TO TERRITORY AND CONSTITUTION WOULD BE HANDLED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING AND (B) ONAN'S OBSTINACY, WHICH WE TRACE TO DENKTASH'S RESENTMENT OVER HAVING BEEN COMPELLED BY ANKARA TO GO AHEAD WITH JUNE 3 MEETING IN FACE OF GREEK ECONOMIC PROVOCATIONS. IN THIS SITUATION, PAPADOPOULOS LOST NO TIME IN TURNING NEGATIVE TO CHARGE TURKISH SIDE WITH CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE.
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